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HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S.L.P.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 1, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.



Massachusetts State Ticket.

GOVERNOT: GEORGE R. PEARE, of Lynn. Lieutenant Governor: JAMES F. STEVENS,

of Boston. Secretary of State: FRANK McDONALD, of Stoneham.

FREDERICK E. NAGLER, of Springfield.

ver and Recording General:

FRANK ALBIN FORSSTROM, of Worcester.

Attorney General: WALTER P. J. SKAHAN, of New Bedford.

WORCESTER, Mass., Sep. 25.—The Soistory to-day. It met in convention this city to nominate a State ticket for the pending campaign. This was not the first State Convention of the Party, held for the purpose; but it was the first one held wholly under the dection laws of the State, the Party aving polled last year the necessary three per cent. vote to bring it within the operation of these laws. This fact, ed with this other, the severe class graggle that raged within the Party foring the last months, lent a special importance, and it was thought to at-tach some danger to the occasion. The siddle-class elements (represented in New York by the "Volkszeilung crowd) that sought to assert themselves within de Party, dominate it, and, if need be, leak it down, could not yet this year be eliminated from participation in the y's caucuses here. In this respect Massachusetts election laws placed is Party at a disadvantage. Expunged on the Party organization, these mid-lass elements clung to their rights to their tink; they gathered to them-ter the law; they gathered to themtill uncleaner labor fakir element, id held caucuses wherever possible They knew their numbers were too small to control the convention lawhily; they prepared to control it mudulently. A job lot of "delegates" from Springfield and Westfield, with a Scal petitiogger, Clarence Spellman, as beginnan and pace-setter, turned up, rady to "do" the convention. The convention "did" them. The alertness of the Committee on Credentials detected the contemplated fraud; it recom-mended that, as the names of the dele-ptes were read off, they should step forward, and take their seats. This measure uncovered the neat batch that seant to get in under false names and other fraudulent practices. The rigid-ses of the Chairman—Joseph Malloney, of Lynn—did the rest. The kangarqos, vinnewed down to 17, out of a total of a delegates, found "life not worth liveling and their attempts at obing." Seeing all their attempts at ob-creation and at creating confusion recked; realizing from the temper of convention that they would soon be out physically, UNDER THE LAW disorderly conduct and as ob-ctors of a political State convention, the sanctity of which the State laws they leaped out. With their bolt bese gentlemen leaped out of history,

But not even at this last act in the ad-comic farce of its short career did hararooism in Massachusetts neglect help illustrate the correctness of the help illustrate the trands it, here healist principle that brands it, here here where else, unfit for, unworthy standing room within the ranks of the Socialist movement of the land. One of the seventeen bolters was one ected in Holyoke, where he is a memof the Party. Both the sections of coloroke have upheld the National Ex-cuive Committee, and emphatically roudiated kangarooism. The conduct ral one: it was a direct violation the tacit mandate of his organization.

And what drove him to such an act? a private material interests. As the er of a wild-cat paper that claims be Socialist, but was repudiated by Party membership in this State— Springfield "Proletarian"—he is a siltor of that paper to a no small mont. "The Proletarian," as all such litor of that paper count. "The Proletarian." as all suc-clier publications, hangs by a thread charge publications in that paper publications, hangs by a thread.

Lehman's interests in that paper

L. accordingly, from the accordingly, from the same That thread being kangaroo

he is a Kangaroo, whatever his by organization may be. Material inth interests are vulgar, the "morals" As the Kangaroos leaped, their leap

of THE PEOPLE, being in town of THE PEOPLE, being in town the invitation of the State Committee, and as a representative of the sational Executive Committee, a motion was put and promptly carried that a committee be appointed to call upon him at the Lincoln House, where he was appliag, and invite him in the name of the Convention of the Socialist Labor rarty of the Commonwealth of Massaarty of the Commonwealth of Massa-tasetts to a seat on the platform. His persons on the floor was the signal a wild scene of enthusiasm in which

rousing cheers for the Socialist Labor Party rose above the din. The comrade made a short address on the significance of the clean-cut work that the convention had performed, and the purifying power of the class-conscious political fire in which all freakism, humbug and corruption, like kangarooism, was bound to be speedily consumed, as speedily and completely as straws in a

Other speeches were made by several delegates, the convention proceeded with the business before it of nominat-ing a State ticket, adopting a platform and resolutions, and making other pro-visions for the future internal manage-ment of the Party. The most important of these are given below.

It was 8.45 p.m. when the bang of the Chairman's gavel announced the ad-journment of the convention sine die. and this convention of the Socialist Labor Party—a body composed of delegates that are the cream of the Massachusetts brain and brawn, superior in all essentials to any that any of the several other parties can gather—passed into history.

The convention days lasted virtually three days. The sessions were opened on Saturday evening, the 23d, at Horticultural Hall (the hall of the convention) by an address by Daniel De Leon on "Order with Progress, Progress with Order," with Martha Moore Avery as presiding officer. The address was taken stenographically, and will be printed in pamphlet form.

The following day, Sunday the 24th, was taken up until a late hour in the night by a conference of delegates from Party organizations to map out the work of the convention, and consider matters of internal concern.

At the morning session of this con-ference an incident occurred that was not on the programme. Mr. ... kowitz, or Hillquit, of the "Volkszeitung" party, asked for admission to challenge Com-rade De Leon to a debate on the issues in the Party. The challenge had been extended the night previous at the meeting in Horticultural Hall, and Comrade De Leon, then and there, running rapidly over the unclean career of Mr. Hillquit in the New York labor movement, at the time when the fellow called himself Hilkowitz, nointed to the asked for admission to challenge Comcalled himself Hilkowitz, pointed to the fishiness of a challenge to take place 190 miles from the town where the challenger and the challenged both lived, where the challenger was best known, where the living witnesses of his past betrayals of the working class could be easily produced, and where all this time the now "challenger" did not dare to utter any such challenge. For these reasons—the manifest dishonesty of the challenge, and the challenger being convicted of having betrayed the working class—the comrade declined to debate with such a person. This answer was received with emphatic applause, underscored by the hisses of a few straggling Kangaroos in the

When the next morning the same application was made at the conference of the Party delegates, the sentiment was to refuse the request, as it was a waste of time to "fire more shot into a dead duck." Comrade De Leon's opinion duck." Comrade De Leon's opinion being asked, he said, that he would positively not "debate" with the applicant for the reasons already given; nevertheless, as Mr. Hillquit was recently expelled from the Party for treason, the conference might admit him before its bar. In that case the comrade would place before the conference the reasons for Mr. Hilkowitz' expulsion, and the evidences of his "party's" usurpation; that would not take more then ten min-Mr. Hillquit could then answer with twenty; and the comrade would close with ten minutes, if needed. This view prevailed, and Mr. Hillquit was allowed inside, and told the conditions. De Leon, with the constitution in his

hands, and quoting from it proved, from admitted facts, that at every step the Kangaroos had violated their pledge: they started with a fraud by calling a bogus City General Committee; they proceeded from that to violate the constitution, then they resorted to violence, and, to that day, they had not yet is-sued a call to the whole Party for a referendum vote upon the justice of

their act. Mr. Hillquit started to speak: he was requested to move to the other end of the hall; when he got there he was startled to see that a stenographer had been placed there to take him down; he was visibly disconcerted, and asked, "Why a stenographer?" A voice an-ewered. "Because we know whom we got to deal with." Mr. Hillquit felt himself caught tight; he could not there say one thing, and afterwards claim he had said another, as is his custom; moreover, being held to answer the points in the charge he had to abandon what was evidently his plan, the bring-ing in of irrelevant matter that would confuse His "argument" may be condensed in the words that De Leon summed it up with in his closing ten minutes. He said:

"I don't need ten minutes. The gis of the gentleman's argument was that the constitution of the Party is very lax in many respects, THEREFORE we must deliberately go about to make it laxer even in those clauses that are perfectly tight."

The applause of the conference showed absolute unanimity in rejecting the pettifogging argument and falsifications of Mr. Hillquit. He was told to leave the hall; he tried to speak some more, but the body indignantly drowned his voice, and, sputtering male-dictions, he took his leave thoroughly

Preamble and Platform.

We, the Socialist Labor Party of Maswe, the Socialist Labor Party of Mas-sachusetts, in convention assembled this day, September 25, 1899, at Wor-cester, re-affirm our allegiance to the Principles and to the Piatform adopted

at the National Convention in New York, July 9, 1896.

Knowledge, not authority, is the only adequate basis for political action. Socialists affirm, as the central truth,

the organic unity of society.

All political relations of the past have been subject to continual change con-

sequent upon economic development.
When reduced to order, historic conditions present to view three great epochs in human society, each epoch based upon and correctly manifested by the methods of wealth production ex-tant, with its accompanying social class relations and distinctions.

First, slave labor. The slave belonged to the master, therefore the production of the slave labor belonged to the mas-

Second, the factory period, with its hand tools and its horse power. The free artisan owned his product because owned his tools.

Third, the system of modern industry with its capitalist kings, its wage-slaves and its scientific mechanism.

Complex electric machines, tended by

wage-slaves, and owned by capitalists, organized into gigantic trusts, is putting an end to competition among capitalists and making it flercer among workmen. A chain of activity is set up that binds men of different crafts and of minute suldivisions of different crafts throughout the world, to the perfor-mance of a single task, the production

of a single piece of merchandise.

Capital is a social power. The capitalist must control the legislative, the judiciary and the military divisions of power, the government, to gain, to sustain and to advance private control of

social wealth.

Wage-slaves en masse get the value of their only merchandize, labor-power, when it is sold in the labor-market. The most valuable the highest wage and the least valuable the lowest wage. It costs society more to produce a genius than to produce a common laborer; just as it costs nature a higher rate of inten-sity to produce a diamond than to pro-duce a pebble. Workmen of Massachusetts are citizens! The servile and mon-struous conditions of producing untold wealth for the capitalist class while women and children perish with hunger and men languish with idleness, and while the rich riot in luxury and fester with crime, must be overturned.

Gratitude to our forefathers who stamped the glory of citizenship upon the brow of Americans; Love to our families: Justice to our Commonwealth demands that we, the working class, become the ruling class. The fourth great epoch in industry will then be established, an end will be put to eco-nomic class distinctions—Democracy in industry and democracy in politics will

Workmen in this election, as the century turns a new page, we call upon each and all who declare for liberty of mind, equality of opportunity and fraternity in spirit and in action to line up with the voters of the Socialist Labor Party at the polls for the establishment of the co-operative Commonwealth.

Special National Convention.

WHEREAS, The infamous and deep laid conspiracy of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, en-gineered by Tammany Hall corruption-lats and small traders, has been effec-tively dealt with by the Socialist Labor Party through its National Executive Committee, and

WHEREAS, Certain sections of the Party are now calling for a referendum vote on a proposition which would in the opinion of this conference, if carried, be productive of no god results, and would in effect be an admission that further action was necessary, thereby tending to magnify the importance of an affair which is now a matter of history and would moreover only serve to cripple the financial resources of the Party, which in view of the coming elections would be a suicidal policy and practically playing into the hands of the band of conspirators now happily outside the party ranks, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED. That we recommend the various sections in this State to defeat the San Francisco resolution in favor of holding a National Convention of the Party before the regular Na-tional Convention of 1900.

On State Organizer.

AND WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference the condition of the Party demands that the work of ornization be advanced and sustained keeping an organizer in the field be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this conference en rust the State Committee to advise the various sections to assist by all possible means the plan known as the State Aux-iliary or Ten-Cent Plan; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference the support thus far ren-dered Organizer Mailoney has not been of a character and nature sufficiently vigorous to merit the approval, there

RESOLVED. That this conference hereby instructs the State Committee to fortwith vigorously and systematically push forward the work of political organization through Organizer Mal-loney, to the end that a strong political movement be properly organized; and

WHEREAS. The necessity for sustaining and endorsing such Socialist publications and papers as uphold at all times without fear, equivocation or compromise the revolutionary principles and tactics necessitated by a clear understanding of the class struggle, was understanding of the class struggle, was allower more vitally important than at never more vitally important than at present, therefore.

BE IT RESOLVED. That this conference endorse only such Party papers as have fearlessly and uncompromis-ingly supported the Party in suppress-ing the reactionary and corruptionist element: and

BE IT FPRTHER RESOLVED, That the conference recommend to the vari-(Continued on Page 2.)

An Interesting Convention Report.

From the Pittsburg, Pa., District -Valuable Items of Information for All, Speakers Especially.

Mr. Chairman and Comrades:-It is with feelings of the greatest of pleasure that I take this opportunity of expressing to you in the name of the comrades of the District of Western Pennsylvania in general, and Pittsburg in particular, their good wishes and greetings to the comrades from all over the country.

I have heard it stated that there had been more effort and money spent in trying to perfect a Socialist organization in Pittsburg than in any other part of the Union

I will not stop to question this statement, but I wish to show that if it is true, the results amply repay the outlays which may have been made in the past.

The Socialist movement in Pittsburg is in excellent shape. The comrades there are almost to a men, staunch, true, clear and class-conscious: it could hardly be otherwise, for they have had those good attributes almost fairly hammered into them.

The preparatory work has been done and faithfully done, by the Germans of our region. They stuck to it through thick and thin, through rise and fall, and now those faithful teachers at last see the result of their efforts. That which they have so earnestly and persistently striven for all these years is being realized. The English-speaking element is coming to the front and the German comrades of Western Pennsylvania, instead of being disgruntled and disappointed at their coming and trying to stop the inevitable, are overjoyed at their advent, and spurred on by the zeal and younger energy of the newcomers, are working with them harder and more earnestly than before.

Thus it was that when comrade Hickey arrived in Pittsburg in August, 1898, he found it comparatively easy to organize three Locals of the S. T. & L. A., two mixed Locals, now known as Locals 189 and 190, and one machinists, known as Local 190.

These Locals, in conjunction with about nine others, form District 15.

Pittsburg always and still does suffer from a lack of speaking talent. If this were not the cause I would undoubtedly be able to make a far better report than I do. Nevertheless we were steadily increasing, and when the opportunity came, with it came a speaker. Not a speaker from Heaven, but from slow old Philadelphia. This speaker did not make union-made cigars, like some Philadelphia speakers, for he didn't use tobacco at all, nor was he always typographically perfect like other Philadelphia speakers; no, he was only a natural born speaker, who spoke Socialism that came from the heart, and who, having been deprived of the advantage of much education by this accursed capitalist system, was not a speaker at all in the opinion of the tobacco and whiskey combination.

The Schoen strike broke out, and with it came Schulberg's chance to do his duty. The Schoen Co. at that time held in bondage about 3,800 wage slaves, three of whom were Socialists, the two Foster brothers and comrade Stamper.

The strike started with eighty men in one department. They asked for a speaker. Schulberg and myself were sent for. We found them disorganized and disordered. Those of one religion distrusted all others, and those of one nationality distrusted all others, in the mean time calling each other vulgar names, spies and traitors. But lo, what a sudden change! Two hours of speaking Socialism, and this was all altered. They cheered each other, and shook each other by the hand and vowed eter-

The strike spread from one department to another. Finally all the men were out. In the mean time we conducted all their meetings and instructed them in the science of Socialism. The men took hold of it, and the teachings spread like wildfire.

During this time the Capitalist class was not idle either. At first their papers ignored us, but as that plan failed they lied about us, abused, slandered and vilified us. The preachers delivered sermons on "the evils of Socialism."

The company sent spies to the meetings, rowdies, backed by the police; attempts to start a riot were frequent.

They captured one of the active workers, Gallagher by name, and kept him imprisoned in an engine-house for a

They knidnapped Schulberg right off the street, and sent him to the work-house. We then sent for Brower from house. We New York.

They paid off the men on Friday in place of Saturday, so that they would have lots of time to get drunk; we told the men not to drink, but to take their money home to their families; the men heeded our advice, with the result that for the first time in the history of Schoen's pay days there was not a single arrest. They broke up a meeting, and arrested seventy-one men. We hired the best lawyer in Pittsburg, and the men were set free.

They tried to break our Socialist hold on the men by holding opposition meet-ings addressed by labor fakirs, parsons and so-called respectable citizens, but all to no purpose.

We had thught the men so well, had shown them the futility of pure and sim-ple unions as a remedy so thoroughly that when we allowed two of Pittsburg's biggest fakirs, Thomas Grundy and Cal Wyatt, to address one of our meetings. and then took a vote as to whether they would stay with the S. T. & L. A. or drop it, the vote was unanimous in our

Eleven days had passed. Parsons, preachers and politicians, newspapers, so-called respectable citizens and labor fakirs—all failed to disrupt us, and Schoen Pressed Steel Co. stock had Schoen Pressed Steel Co. stock had dropped almost six points in the stock market, when the firm capitulated. The results gained for the men was a gen-eral rise of about fifteen per cent. in wages, and the adoption of the follow-

Abolishment of work on the Sabbath

A new check system and the privilege of stopping work until the bodies of fel-low wage-slaves who were injured or killed were carried from the depart-

The result of the action of the Socialists in the Schoen strike has been of national benefit to the movement.

In Pittsburg it has enabled us to raise monthly almost the entire sum needed to put an organizer into the field.

Much to the chagrin of some of the pure and simple kangaroos, we picked out Schulberg, and the results have been very satisfactory.

We have opened the eyes of the working class of Western Pennsylvania in particular, and as a result the efforts of the labor fakirs to replace the loss caused to them by the fast dwindling dues, by holding Labor Day pic-nics and farce comedies at a Pittsburg theatre with Golden Rule Jones, Cold Lead Miles and other labor-befudding frauds like Powderly and Gompers as speakers, proved flat failures, and there never was a more necessary and opportune time for the S. T. & L. A., founded, as it is, on the rock of the class strugle to take hold and emancipate the wage slaves

We are enjoying, as the capitalists call it, a period of prosperity. This pros-perity, as it is called, consists in what? in working longer hours for shorter pay than ever before.

And what are we so busy about? Mainly in building machinery for export

The capitalist class has seen the foolishness of going to the expense of importing immigrants to work at domestic machinery, and is therefore now ex-porting the machinery to the immiporting the machinery to the immi-grants instead. The result will be that when enough machinery has been built for the purpose we will stop building machinery, and the eight cents per day labor of the Oriental inhabitant will replace that of all other higher-piced workmen. An example: We are to-day importing the Stars and Stripes from Japan, and selling them six for five cents. They are American flags, made in Japan, by Japanese workers on American machines. These same flacs made in America by American workmen, on American machines, cannot be sold at less than five cents each without an absolute loss. This will be the result in all industries, and then will come the

Socialism is the only remedy, and it is our noble duty to enlighten the work-ers, and insist that they join the organization which must and will turn the ever improving machinery of produc-tion and distribution into a blessing instead of, as it is now, a curse to the

I have purposely avoided saying anything about the coal miners and their conditions, leaving my fellow-delegate, comrade Thomas, of Buena Vista, who is himself a coal miner, to explain to you the absolute necessity of immediately organizing them into an S. T. &:

WILIAM J. EBERLE.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEO-PLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Sicialist even though he be no student. even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist can aord to be without it. Apply, La-bor News Co., 147 E. 23rd st., N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

QUEENS COUNTY-NOTICE - Primaries of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County are hereby called to meet on Monday, October 1st, 1899, at 7 o'clock P. M., for the Re-election of the County Convention, to the second As sembly Pictic Convention, and to the second Adermanic District Convention at the follow ing places: id Ward at Turn Hall, College Point; 4th Ward at Tagland's Haall, Woodaven Each Ward is entitled to representation by a delegates in each said Conventions

The County Convention, the 3d Assembly District Convention and the 3d Aldermanie District Convention meet at Tagland's Hall Woodhaven, on October 1st, 1889, at 9 o'clock

CHBISTIAN BARKE.

Becretary Quees County Commistee

8. L. P.

Against the Trolley Trusts.

The S. T. & L. A.'s Campaign Against
The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co. and The Union Traction Co. of Philadelphia

IN BROOKLYN.

The powerful Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company has been compelled to recognize the seriousness of the cam-paign inaugurated against it by the S. T. & L. A. for the testing of the Ten Hour Law.

A few days before the 19th of Sep-tember the Brooklyn trolleymen were surprised by the following announcement, published in the Rapid Transit Company's newspaper mouthpleces:

President Rossiter, finding that it was impossible for the men to make five trips from New York to Coney Island in a day of ten hours, has made the day's work consist only of four trips. It was seen that most of the accidents occurring recently were due to the great speed necessary in order to accomplish the required five trips, so on this account, as well as for the benefit of the men, the required work has been reduced one-fifth.

The pretense of solicitousness for the safety of the public and the well-being of the employees is too transparent to deceive anybody. If Rossiter had really been solicitous about the public or "his" men, he would not have waited with his reform until the Coney Island season was almost at an end, that is, until he had overworked his men and massacred the dear public as long as he had a chance of doing so during this season

What the trolley magnate was solicitous about is explained by the nearness of the 19th of September. On that day the criminal prosecution for the violation of the Ten Hour Law was to come on before Judge Brenner.

Mr. Rossiter's sudden desire to appear as a protector of the public's limbs and as a father to the trolleyworkers was evidently due to the necessity of preparing a defence against the pending criminal action. It must have become plain to the Trolley Trust that this attack is not a sham affair as all previous attempts at or threats of testing the law have been. There is need of a

The trolley trust has heretofore taken the position that in arranging its time tables it had intended to comply with the Ten Hour Law, that these time tables were practically consented to by the employees, since none of them made any formal complaint; that, if in some cases the men would not do their work in ten hours, the company had no of-ficial knowledge of the fact, and at any rate there was no more labor required of the men than they were willing to

This position cannot be maintained, after a formal complaint has been lodged with the criminal authorities.

But the Rapid Transit Company is apparently preparing to make the de-fence that it changed its schedule as soon as the impossibility of making the scheduled trips within the legal hours was brought to its notice and could be verified by investigation, and that it was so changed before the charge came up in court.

That explains why five days before the 19th of September the schedule of the Coney Island lines—the very lines to which the pending prosecution refers— was changed from five to four trips.

It will be interesting to watch the effect of the defence thus manufactured when the case comes to trial.

The company waived examination, when the case was called before Judge Brenner on September 19th, and thus avoided the necessity of revealing any part of its line of defence. The company was held for trial at the Special Sessions, where the case will be called for pleading in about two weeks.

IN PHILADELPHIA

Simultaneously with the Brooklya Rapid Transit Company the Trolley Trust of Philadelphia—the Union Trac-tion Company—felt the necessity of defending itself against the activity of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. After having been carried on quietly for some time, the work of organizing the Philadelphia trolley workers was brought to public notice through a circular issued last week by the Street Railway Workers' Alliance, a recently chartered L. A. of the S. T. & L. A. The movement has assumed such proportions as to force the Philadelphia press to give it considerable attention. Some of the papers print the circular in full, notwithstanding the outspoken manner in which it expresses the revo-lutionary position of the S. T. & L. A. The following heading and introductory sentences of a lengthy article in the "Evening Bulletin" show how the movement is regarded by the Philadelphia

HIGHER WAGES IS THEIR CRY.

HIGHER WAGES IS THEIR CRY.
Demands of the Street Railway Workers'
Alliance of Philadelphia—The New Organization of Union Traction Employees—Keefs,
of New York, Pilot.
A movement that is intended to obtain
higher wages and shorter hours of work for
street railway employees is actively being agitated in this city. The discontent that has
been brewing in various labor circles in different parts of the country is to flad an outlet in Philadelphia if the plans of the leaders
are not forestalled.

The dispatches sent out by the press agencies suppress the fact that the movement is under the auspices of the S. T. & L. A., and contain an altogether misleading account of it. Even the names are garbled; Comrade Keep, for instance, is called a "national promoter for the National Labor Alliance." To correct these false reports and give our comrades an accurate idea of the char-acter of the movement, the circular will be reproduced in next week's issue.

THE PEOPLE.

- EVERY SUNDAY. -

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Invariably in advance: Single copy....

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In	1888 (Presidential)	2,068
	1890	13,831
In	1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In	1894	38,133
In	1896 (Presidential)	86,564
la	1898	. 82,204

No revolutionary political organization will inspire the outside masses with respect hat will not insist upon and enforce discipline within its own ranks. If we allow our own members to play monkeyshines with the Socialist Labor Party, the lookerson, who belong in our camp, will justly believe that we will at some critical moment allow capitalism to play monkeyshines with us; they will not respect us, and their accession to our ranks will be delayed.

"REFORM OR REVOLUTION."

TURNING THE CYCLE.

It is out of feudalism that capitalism rose. Every step onward was at first a step away from feudalism. The conclusion would seem to be forced that, as society moves still further onward, it moves still further away from feudalism, still further from where it started. Rash conclusion. Beyond a point, if real onward, real progressive steps are not made, society turns back to where it started from.

Capitalist society in America has reached the point that marks the period where, if the onward march towards Socialism is not taken, a retrograde march back to feudalism must set in. Of this fact, and of the fact that the retrograde march has commenced there are not a few instances. The latest is recorded in Oklahoma Territory, near the town of Bliss.

From Bliss, O. T., comes the news that the critics of Markham, the poet of the "Man with the Hoe." who snort at the thought of a free-born American being classed as brother to the ox, should pay a visit to the 7,000 acre farm of the 101 live-stock company there. The man with the hoe has actually usurped the specially ordained work of the ox, the most remarkable fact known to the agricultural fraternity being on view in that locality in the shape of HUMAN TEAMS pulling the plows. When the team of men are ready to start, the driver, in lieu of a whip, holds over his team a loaded revolver, not for the purpose of hastening operations by making targets of the men, but to use as a signal so that the human horses can have a fair start.

Here surely there seems to be a reason for Edwin Markham's startling queries: "Are we shaping a new feudalism-an industrial feudalism-which will press the life out of the worker and be dead to all thought it his social well being?"

The men are usually tramps who have been drummed into the service of tock company by a liberal payment. When the pistol has cracked and the team has the plow fairly under way, the tramps rise from the crawling attitude of the start and pull the plow, walking in the natural position. With so many of them in a team the work is divided into a very small amount of exertion for each man, and "Weary Waggles" and "Footsore Willie" have comparatively an easier time of it.

Superintendent J. C. Miller says that only at certain periods of the year does it pay to have the tramp team at work, for while there are horses available the latter are naturally preferred. When the farmers are all working early and late and all the cattle are busy in the fields the horse becomes a scarce article on these big farms, and the Oklahoma agriculturist has to find some substitute. The farmers of the territory are taking up the idea, and the supply of tramps is getting as scarce as the supply of horses.

Mr. Miller claims he can do the plowing with a team of tramps at just half the amount it would cost him to hire horses when the latter are badly wanted and are being held for the high wanted and are being held for the highest price. In Oklahoma the ranches are so large that no one man owns enough horses to do his work in the busy sea-

It is not probable that the dignity of the genus tramp would suffer men to work in this lowly manner on farms where the natives could gather around and criticise. But here, where the ranch owner and his hands are the only persons encountered in a day's walk, the broken down gentleman and the mechanic who is walking for a job submits to being harnessed like cattle to a

plow without the fact being bruited abroad over the land to the injury of their reputation. While at work the tramps are at least sure of a square meal, for the ranch own are hospitallty personified, and the appetite that is cultivated by dragging a plow through the field is liberally satisfied with good, wholesome fare. The sleeping provision made for the tramps is far better than that to which they are accustomed, so that the wanderer who is enlisted as a helper on the ranch in place of the costly horses finds that he has fallen in for a comfortable job at good money.

Are we not under a full head of steam towards feudalism?

Bernard O'Toole will lecture Friday, the 29th, at 340 W. 53d street (W. S. Educational Club).

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Instinct is a great thing. It is well developed in the capitalist press. Attention was called about two months ago to the enthusiasm and unanimity with which the press of this city sided with the tax-payer element that sought to kill the Socialist Labor Party here. A similar experience was made last week in Worcester, Mass. The capitalist press of that city teemed, during and before the convention with articles denoting their full sympathy with the same element there. This came out strongest while the convention of the Party was in session. It did not suit the gentlemen at all to see the firmness with which the Party held the helm of its ship; it did not suit them a bit to see their pets the Kangaroos downed. In its anger the capitalist press of Worcester tried to throw ridicule upon some of the Party's delegates on the ground of their workingmen's appearance. Certain it is that any capitalist paper would pay \$100 a head for such a set of honest-looking and honorable workingmen in their conventions. The only workingmen the capitalists can gather in their conventions bear on their faces the stamp of the scab.

"Success" is the name of a publication that certainly makes a success of making its points clear. Its Labor Day issue contains on its page 659 a full picture of General Miles-the hero of the Pullman strike surrounded with an article on "Labor Organizations in the United States," in which the brotherhood of Capital and Labor is shown to be a fact, and, in order to prove the point, the General's hand rests on a Gatling gun, no doubt to illustrate how that 'Brotherhood" is enforced.

So far the point would seem clear enough. But "Success" evidently did not think so. In order to clinch the point it prints on its page 660, just back of Miles' picture, another picture-Whose? Just back of Miles' article. About whom?

The picture just back of General Miles, in full regimental and hand on gun is Mr. Samuel Gompers'.

The article just back of the one that figures as a setting for General Miles

is about Mr. Samuel Gompers. How well both pictures and articles

supplement each other. Gompers marshals the workingmen before the armed powers of the Nation to be shot down, and Miles does the shooting. And the thing is done to the tune of "Capital and Labor are Brothers," sung in sweet harmony by both

gentlemen. Who can doubt, after this, that at least these two have interests in com-

The Dublin, Ireland, "Workers' Republic" thus explains the cry of "Law" and "Order" that the oppressors always

have upon their lips:

Every movement for the improvement of the condition of the human race, every step forward in civilization, has of necessity had to face the opposition of Law, and disturbed the stability of Order. The pioneer of progress has ever been an enemy of Law, and directed all his efforts to the destruction of Order. The reason is obvious. The human race in its progress upward from savagery has had, at each upward move, to meet the opposition of the class who, thriving upon the misery of their fellows, found their security in the maintenance of the status quo and its attendant evils. This class coming together for mutual support imposed upon their weaker, or less cunning fellows, certain rules and observances calculated to weaken the power of the muititude and augment the privileges of the few. Those rules and observances were called the Law.

There is no real law except the selfhave upon their lips:

There is no real law except the selfimposed by majority rule.

The S. L. P. is safe. A few weeks ago we thought that the most serious accident had happened to the Party. From an article in the Cleveland, O., "Citizen" it appeared that Debs had endorsed the Party. A greater calamity the worst enemies of the Party could hardly wish to it. But fortunately we had not to stop to consider. We had overlooked the fact that for unreliableness of inthe fact that for unreliableness of in-formation the Bandlow-Hayes paper is distinguished, and capable of the worst sort of, "pure and simple" fraud on its re-ders. Had we stopped to consider that, we never would have gone through the pangs we did. We now feel easy. The Milwaukee, Wis., "Wahrheit" has upon the subject an item the substance of which we hasten to communicate to of which we hasten to communicate to

our readers.

It is to the effect that the extensively It is to the effect that the extensively carried-about yarn Eugene V. Debs had recommended the S. A. P. in an article to the Cleveland "Citizen" is "not only not true, but is a hellish lie. Such an article appeared, true enough, in the "Cleveland Citizen," but AS DEBS ASSERTS IT WAS FALSIFIED." In short, Debs did not endorse the S. L. P. Now let's all breathe freely, and never

Now let's all breathe freely, and never forget that the Cleveland "Citizen" is quite capable of faisification not of news only, but of matter sent to it for publi-

CONSERVATISM.

The below is a synopsis of an address delivered by Lucien Sanial on March 5, 1890, at a public meeting of the then American E-anch, of the old Section New York, S. L. P. The subject has singular application now, over nine years later; moreover its manner of treatment will preserve for it permanent freshness:

"Is conservatism coming to an end in the labor movement?" Can any one here answer this question? If so I shall instantly give him

the floor. Surely I came not to answer it myself. but to hear it answered by as many as might be present here to-night. It is really a question that every one con-nected in some way with the labor movement must answer for himself, in so far as he is personally concerned and no farther. He must ask himself, 1.— Am I a conservative? 2.- Is my con-

servatism coming to an end?

Even put in this form, the question will in most cases prove by no means as easy of solution as may appear a priori. Did you ever ask yourselves what this word, "Conservatism," truly signifies? If not, I may help you somewhat, but that is all I can do for you.

Surely you know that the law of nature is motion and change—change of place, change of form. Conservatism is simply resistance to that law.

Things that offer the highest degree of resistance to motion and change in the resistance to motion and change in the physical world are rocks, stones, petrifications of some sort, in which life is not perceptible, and which are to the least possible extent capable of mixing or associating with other physical substances. And, likewise, in the moral and intellectual world conservatism involves hardness of the heart and of the mind—individualism with a venthe mind-individualism with a veneance and with the least possible individuality. A conservative is a stone; the more stone-like the harder his con-

Now, of all beings in animated Nature it would seem that man is now so constructed as to be the least conservative.

If the Darwinian theory be true—if it be true that all things have a common origin and differ only by reason of their path and degree of evolution, man, as the highest evolved of all, must, physically and intellectually, possess the highest power of motion and of change; he must be the least conservative—the most adverse, in fact, to conservatism. Not only does he evolve as an individual, but he moves and modifies everydual, but he moves and modifies every-thing around him by his own motion. He evolves nutritious plants from weeds, dogs and horses and chickens and other very tame animals from very wild ones, etc. It is really by moving and changing that he conserves him-self; for, if he abstained for any length of time from moving and changing everything about himself, his very sur-roundings would of themselves move and change in a direction disastrous to him.

And right here we see that conservatism, so-called, conserves actually nothing, but rather acts the part of a destroyer. It mummifies, petrifies and not unfrequently putrefies what would otherwise have evolved into a higher form of life.

But some may chiect. Truth must be

But some may object: Truth must be conserved. Nonsense Truth is a live and life-giving thing, which has in itself the power of conserving itself. But, turn it over to conservatism, and con-servatism, like the head of Medusa, will turn it into a stone. See the truth, men, but never lay your hands upon it. 'Now, if you accept my definition of

conservatism, little remains for me to say that will enable you to determine for yourselves whether you should or should not be conservatives. The ques-tion of importance, however, is not so much what you should be as what you are, and it is this question, as I have already observed, that I wish you to

But you may not be able to answer it without knowing what a conservative looks like. No man can know his own looks until he has seen his own image reflected in a mirror, or in pure water, or in the eyes of some fellow man. Even then he may doubt the accuracy of the mirror, or the purity of the water, or the honesty of the human eye, if his image does not suit his notion

beauty.

Besides, all conservatives are not alike, because their respective conserva-tisms, though born of the same mother —which I believe is Ignorance—are not begotten of the same father. But in all you will find a common feature—a most striking family resemblance. Shall I

say what?—Hypocrisy.

This may, in your opinion, be rather severe on the conservatives. Well, I intend to be severe, and by no means at the expense of truth.

From the most stupid to the most cunning of them, from the poorest to the wealthlest, a sordid selfishness lies at the root of their conservatism, and none resists progress but is impelled by personal considerations of the meanest

Among the wealthy, the great, the powerful, this is comprehensible. Of the conservatives of this class I have nothdefend their wealth, their greatness, their power. But among the poor, the lowly, the helpless, such opposition to social changes which cannot by any possibility make them more miserable, is inconceivable. And in reality if we look below the surface, if in some way can strike the responsive chord in hearts of the masses, we soon find that there is no conservatism there. But there is apathy, born of ignorance and helplessness. And it is this apathy that the designing leaders of those masses mistake for conservatism. And it is those designing leaders—who themselves care not a lot for either conservatism or progress—that I brand as conservatives, with all the odium of hypocrisy that the term implies, ac-

really mean. I say, most emphasically, I trust you will now perceive what I really mean. I say, most emphatically, that there is no conservatism in the large body of Labor; but I do not say that there is progress. There is ignorance, helplessness, apathy and no movement; yet there is a natural readiness to move, a dormant power of motion which can at any time be developed into a tremendous irresistible force, and will be so developed as soon as the consciousness of that power snail have been infused into the mass. For its present torpor, those who call themselves its

conservative leaders-and those alone

are responsible.
In those men the "Labor Movement" has for years been personified. While some of them know that there can be no such movement but in the direction of socialism, they denounce on every occasion its teachers and its principles, and they prolong the apathy of the mass by withholding from it the truth which, once seen, would put an end to its wretchedness and slavery.

The S. L. P.

In the Position it Takes on Taxation.

The position taken by the Socialist Labor Party of the United States on the subject of taxation is the only one absolutely consistent with all the observed facts and tendencies of Capitalism at its present stage of development in this country. It is an impregnable position; and from the solid base which it affords for well defined, clear-cut Socialistic tactics on the political battlefield the Party can safely advance against the Republican plutocracy with-out any fear of Democratic middle-class ambushes or flank movements of a bogus reform character.

In substance the premises and conclusions of the Party, as they appear from its official declarations, supplemented by the utterances of its official organs, candidates and authorized mouthpieces generally, may be briefly stated as fol-

In the course of capitalistic evolution the American government has necessarily become an agency of the Piutocratic Class, having for its almost exclusive object to maintain and extend the eco-nomic dominion of that class. Its sphere of action, its domestic and foreign policy, and therefore also its mode of raising the necessary revenue, must in every respect conform with the in-terests of the American Plutocracy.

Now this plutocracy is by far the largest employer of wage labor. It owns all the great manufacturing industries, the mines, the railroads, the ships, the telegraphs, the banks and the vast en-ginery of wholesale commerce; to which may be added the municipal services performed by privileged corporations.

It has practically freed from taxation all its mercantile interests by casting the State and municipal burdens upon real estate and providing for the nation revenue, in part with a high tariff that gives it a monopoly of the home market, and in part with internal taxes chiefly borne by the middle class.

What it now needs is cheaper laborconstantly cheaper—in order to extend its supremacy abroad and thus dispose of the vast surplus product for which it can find no domestic outlet. This it cannot get by any mode of taxation. Even if the taxing of necessaries could result in reducing the purchasing power of wages, and thus, making the workingman pay a part of the cost of plutocratic government, little would be gained because it would render more difficult their reduction in money. It is, in fact, the price of labor, even more than the standard of living, that the plutocracy must first reduce in order to accomplish its object; for it is with low prices only that it can gain com-mand of the world's markets. Rather then, give the working people a "free breakfast"—free from taxation—if it can do any good to those who may be able to pay for it. But, manifestly, this is of very little importance. The plutocracy must achieve its purpose by the direct method of placing the worker in growing competition with his fellow worker, and all the workers in growing competition with the constantly im-proving machinery of production.

To that simple and direct plutocratic policy the Socialist Labor Party of the United Straes opposes this simple and direct proletarian policy:

Wherever it may get control of the public powers, it will wield the Power of Taxation, among others, with relentless energy for the benefit of the working class. Not only will it impose an income tax as specifically provided in its national platform, but it will tax all property of any kind (equally assessed at its full value), to the full extent required to carry out its palliative measures of relief and improvement.—LU-CIEN SANIAL, "Socialist Almanac,"

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must combine several qualities. For the moment I granted No. 1, to wit, that it must be a good act, and knocked No. 2 into a cocked hat. I now propose to turn to No. 1.



Uncle Sam and Bother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—It does sometimes seem to me that these Socialists are unreasonable.

Uncle Sam-Inasmuch as to how?

B. J.-They don't seem to realize the benefits conferred upon society by the capitalists.

U. S. (sneezing)—Suppose you enlighten me on these "benefits."

B. J .- Take any instance at random. Here is a man, John Jones; he has a bundred thousand dollars in the bank; and yonder are a hundred men out of work. These men will starve unless they get a job; John Jones won't they get a job; John Jones won't starve, you can't starve with a hundred thousand dollars. John Jones could, if he wanted, eat up his money. If he did, he would be having a good time, but the hundred men would hunger. Right here steps up the capitalist as a benefactor-

U. S. (placing his right hand to his right ear)-A what?

B. J.-A benefactor. The capitalist steps in as a benefactor of society. In-stead of lolling comfortably on his \$100.000, he invests them; he sets up a factory that employs these one hundred men out of work. From that moment on the men cease to starve. Has not this capitalist done a positive service to the community?

U. S .- You are quite sure he did? B. J.-Of course!

U. S .- And you consider him a benefactor? B. J .- Don't you?

U. S.—And you would conclude from that, that he and the whole capitalist class should be preserved?

B. J.—Certainly. U. S.—Because if he and it were wiped out society would cease to be benefacted?

B. J.-That's It.

U. S.—Now, let's look at all that a little closer. In the first place let me know what you understand by a "benefactor.

B. J.-A man who does me a good

U. S.—If such a man is compelled, by his own interest, to do you that good service, would he still be a benefactor? B. J .- W-e-1-1, n-o; n-ot qu-ite.

U. S .- To entitle a man to the title of a "benefactor" his act must combine several qualities. I shall mention 2:

1. It must do good; and

It must be done out of his own free will, undriven by personal interest. B. J. (rubbing his hands)—That's very well put. That's exactly. That's just what I have shown you that the capi-

No. 1. His act does good in that he gives bread to men who would otherwise starve for want of work.

No. 2. He does so out of his own free

U. S.—We shall, for the present, grant No. 1. The No. 2 is false.

B. J.-Not much! Why, the capitalist needn't-U. S.-Will you oblige me by keeping

your shirt on for 2 minutes and 15 sec onds? B. J.-Yes

U. S.—The No. 2, which you claim, is that the capitalist is not driven by his own needs to "give work"-B. J.-Exactly.

U. S .- It is just the reverse. I shall show you in the shaking of a lamb's tail that if he didn't, if he allowed the workers to starve, he would have eventually to starve himself.

B. J.-What?

U. S .- Can a \$100,000 last forever? B. J .- No.

S .- If this capitalist lived on even as little as \$5,000 a year, how long do you imagine would his \$100,000 last?

B. J. (winks his eyes as if a candle light had been suddenly held up before them)—Twenty years.
U. S.—And after that?

B. J. remains silent and pensive.
U. S.— After that his money would be all gone and he would have to starve,

pe all gone and he would have to starve, or go to work, or steal, eh?

B. J.—Hem?

U. S.—Can you get out of that?

B. J. remains silent and still more

pensive. U. S.—When your capitalist invests his money, "gives labor bread" or plays the "benefactor," he is simply giving HIMSELF bread and benefacting HIM-HIMSELF bread and benefacting by his SELF. What he accomplishes by his investment it to get his yearly \$5,000 out of the sweat of the brows of his out of the sweat of the brows of his out of the sweat his outside \$100,000 workers and keep his original \$100,000 untouched. When he invests he does so, accordingly, not to do good to others, but to do himself the double good of living grandly without consuming the amount of his capital and doing so by fleecing his "benefactorees." Save me

from such "benefactors" and such "ben-efactions!" B. J. during this time has been inspecting closely a distant fleck of cloud against the azure sky.
U. S.—What has become of your "ben-

B. J.—I have been trying to find where

he is.

U. S.—Your search is now difficult enough; but I propose to make it so difficult that you couldn't find your benefactor were you to look for him with a Lick telescope.

turns his eyes to Uncle Sam.

U. S.—I said before that a benefaction

B. J. (dejectedly)—Well, well—
U. S.—Suppose I waylaid you, knocked
you down and robbed you, and being in
possession of all your property, pistol
included, I were to cover you with that
weapon and say to you: "You are a dead
duck, if you don't do as I teil you," and,
taking a loaf out of your own wallet
which I just took from you. I were to my which I just took from you, I were to my further: "You will starve, if you don't eat; here is a loaf of bread for you; you may have that, if you work for ma-Your distress would drive you to submit.

You would produce 4 loaves and I would give you 1. How would you like that fer a "benefaction?"

B. J.-What, is that also false?

U. S .- Yep!

B. J.-Like it? You call that "bene-

U. S.—How would you like me for a "benefactor?" B. J .- To hell with such a benefactor!

U. S.—Now, that's just the sort of a "benefactor" the capitalist is. The capitalist class has waylaid and knocket capitalist class has way and and knocked down and robbed the working class, and the property or capital these capitalists now hold is stolen goods, stolen from the workers, who alone produced it. Whatever wealth any capitalist ever discuss he has long since consumed: all produce he has long since consumed; all the wealth the capitalists now hold is stolen; out of that first and continuous theft they "give bread" to the workers; and the pistol with which they cover the working class so as to keep it in subsection—as I would be keeping you in subjection was the pistol I snatched out of your hands—is the government of the country, snatched out of the hands of the working class with the aid of the labor fakir.

B. J. begins to be visibly moved. U. S .- Did you say anything?

B. J.—No; but I was going to say that if you way laid me, and got my pistel from me, and by that means were keeping me down, I would never sleep with both eyes shut. U. S. looks interested. B. J.-And the first chance I saw I would snatch that weapon of oppression from you, turn it upon you, and thus recover my own.

U.S.-And, like an unreasonable Se cialist, drive off your benefactor who was "giving you bread?"

B. J.—These socialists are right every time. Yes, I would drive that "besefactor" out of sight.

U. S.—Bravo! Now you talk sense. What you or any sensible man would do is just what the Socialists would to and are gathering the force to do it with. They are seeking to snatch the pistol—the government—out of the hands of the highwayman class that now rides them by organizing the So-cialist Labor Party and walloping the capitalist class at the hustings.

B. J.-Count me as one!

U. S. and B. J. walk off together, B. J. explaining that he always did suppert the Socialists knew what they were

Massachusetts Convention. (Continued from Page 1.)

ous Sections throughout the State the obvious necessity of using for propagada purposes only such papers and publications as are thoroughly in cordance with the revolutionary tactions. of the Party, and do further recomment to the various Sections the advisability of discontinuing to circulate or recom-mend such papers as the "Worker Call," the "Class Struggle," or any other papers whatsoever which do not uncompromisingly, unequivocally and loyally support the Socialist Labor Party and the legally instituted National Executive Committee, of which Henry Kela is the National Secretary.

BE IT RESOLVED, That the S. C. C. shall keep the Party of the State was informed of the doings of the State Organizer, and to publish in the national organ, THE PEOPLE, his proposed route and work accomplished at least once in two weeks.

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVE.
That our delegates use their best effort towards having the conference industry or request the legal convention to have the seat of the Executive Committee, should sate eventually be chosen or elected, located in that section of the State known as Greater Boston.

The Tramp.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by E. R. Bevere, Mass.]

Under the rays of a torrid sun,
On a dusty road one day,
There walked along in ragged clothes
A tramp on his weary way;
His hands were tanned, his feet were out,
His hair was all awry,
No mirth was written on his face,
No sparkle in his cye.

A farmer plowing in his field.

Plodded behind his team;

Just keeping pace with the weary tramp,

—This fruit of rich men's scheme.

And he thought it strange as he strode also

Under the scorching sun.

That the tramp should talk to some one

When he could see but one.

"Yes, Bill, it's true," he heard him say.
"You one day had a home.
A loving wife and children fair;
You had no cause to roam.
You was not "Lazy Bill," not you;
You worked with all your might:
Your wase was small, but you took all
Straight home each Wendaday night.

Twas too bad, Bill, you broke your lag.
While at your work that day.
Sadder yet, you lost your place
And lost your weekly pay.
Hey? Not your fault? Well that's just the your nerved your master well.
And all was right until that day,
You lost your hold and fell.

Yes, yes. I know 't was duty's call, But that don't mend a leg, Or help you draw your weekly pay, Or even help you beg. What's that? The labor class is crushel? The wealthy run the land? Then why don't Labor join their force, Go at it hand in hand?

And crush the rich and let them know
They're just as good as you:
But not the least hit better then
You see what they will do.
It's true, the rich have crushed you.
It's true they took your home:
They parted you from wife and child,
They cause you now to roam.

But don't forget you woted thus,
You cannot now complain;
You've seen it done for years and years.
You've voted just the same.
Wake up! Shake off this lethargy!
Stir up the workers' camp,
And vote together; then there'll be
No such thing as a tramp.
E. R. EATO.

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Division Of Products Under Socialism.

The question most frequently put to a Socialist by capitalists is: How will Socalists divide the wealth they produce; is each to have an equal share; or how? "Division," that is the thing that sicks in the very marrow of the philistines, like a veritable leprosy. Their whole conception of Socialism begins and ends with that word. Indeed, even among the most cultured, the idea is esite prevalent that the object of Socialis is to divide the whole wealth of the nation among the people.

That this view still prevails, despite all protests and proofs on the part of the Sectalists, is to be ascribed, not only to the malice of the enemies of Socialism, but also, and perhaps to a greater ex-test, to their inability to understand the social conditions that have been brought social conditions that me a by the development of large production. Their horizon is still, to a great extent, bounded by the conceptions that apply only to the system of small procession. Indeed, judging from the standard point of small production, the only form the stand-gent of small production, the only form of Socialism possible is division. From the start of production for sale in anti-guity it has happened innumerable times, as often quity it has happened innumerable times, as often as a few families had hesped great wealth and had reduced dependence artisans and farmers to dependence, that these plotted for the expulsion of the rich and the division of their property. They succeeded in this for the first time during the French Revolution. withstanding, or perhaps, just by reason of its emphatic assertion of the rights of private property. Peasants, artisans, and the class that was about to develop into capitalists divided among themsives the church estates. Division is the Socialism of small production; it is the Socialism of the "conservative" ranks of society; it is not the Socialism of the Proletariat.

It needs time, but the feat will yet be complished of ramming into the heads of the so-called luminaries of our social system that Socialists do not propose to divide; that, on the contrary, their object is to concentrate in the hands of society the instruments of production ment, production and the payment of

But this does not yet dispose of the question of division. If the means of groduction belong to society, to it must belong, as a matter of course, the function of disposing of the products that are brought forth with the aid of these instruments. In what way will society distribute these among its members? Shall it be upon the principle of equality or according to the labor performed by ach? And in the latter case, is every lind of labor to receive the same re-vard, whether it be agreeable or not, lard or easy, skilled or unskilled?

To many, the answer to this question seems to be the central point of Socialim. Not only does it greatly pre-occapy the foes of Socialism, but even the early Socialists devoted the greatest amount of attention to it. From Four rier to Weitling, and from Weitling to Bellamy there runs a steady stream of the most diversified answers, many of which reveal a wonderful degree of acumen. There is no lack of positive propostions; many of them are as plain as they are practicable. Nevertheless, the question is not of the importance that generally ascribed to it.

Time was when the distribution of products was looked upon as wholly independent from production itself; seeing, moreover that the contradictions and ills of the capitalist system of production manifest themselves first in its culiar method of distributing its prodicts, it was quite natural that both the exploited classes and their Triends should have located the root of the evil in the "unjust" distribution of products Of course, these people proceeded, obe-dient to the views that were prevalent state beginning of this century, upon the supposition that the existing system of distribution was the result of the ideas of their days, i. e., of the popular understanding of right and wrong. In order to remove this unjust system of distribution all that was needed was to stribution, all that was needed was to invent a juster one, and to convince the world of its advantages. The just system of distribution could, of course other than just the reverse of the rising one. Among these people, some crising one. Among these people, some reasoned thus: "To-day there reigns the crassest inequality; the principle upon which distribution should be based must be one of equality." Others believed another line of thought; they mid. "To-day the idler rolls in wealth mid: "To-day the idler rolls in wealth ist the principle be 'To each according to his deeds'." Yet a third set raised deeds'." Yet a third set raised tions to both principles, and they set up a third formula: "To each according to his needs." The early Socialbut spent much time upon this subject. For the same reasons that they did so, is wit, their imperfect comprehension of the social mechanism, not a few ide-elegists right here in the United States have tangled themselves in the meshes a profitess discussion upon this com-bratively unimportant subject.

Modern Socialism, basing itself upon

conomic science takes the stand that he distribution of products in a comunity is determined, not by the prealling conceptions of right and wrong, at by the prevailing system of produc-tion. The share of the landlord, the don. The share of the landlord, the capitalist, and the wage-worker in the total product of society is determined by the role which land, capital, and abor-power play to-day in the modern orstem of production. Sure enough, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, the distribution of products will not be left to the mercy of blind laws, which can asver be well understood by those concerned. The same as to-day, in the interior of a large industrial establishment, production and the payment of seried. The same as to-day, in the inserior of a large industrial establishment, production and the payment of
vages are matters that are carefully
considered and well regulated, so likevise in a socialist commonwealth, which
a staining more than a single gigantic
ladustrial concern, the same principle
must prevail. The rules according to
which the distribution of products is
to be carried out will be established by
the parties concerned. Nevertheless, it
will not despend upon their whim what

those rules shall be; these will not be adapted arbitrarily to this or that principle, however sonorous it may sound they will be determined by the actual condition of society, above all, by the condition of production itself.

For instance, the degree of the productivity of labor at any given time exercises a great influence upon the manner in which distribution is effected. Without any excessive strain on the imagination, we can conceive a time when science will have raised industry to such a high level of productivity that everything wanted by man is produced in great abundance. In such case, the formula "To each according to his needs" would be applied as a matter of course and without difficulty. On the other hand, not even the profoundest conviction of the justice of this formula would be able to put it into practice if the productivity of labor remained so low that the proceeds of the most ex-cessive degree of labor could produce only a bare necessity. Again, the formula "To each according to his deeds" will always be found inapplicable. If it has any sense at all, it pre-supposes a distribution of the total product of the commonwealth among its members. This notion, the same as that about a general division and the military form of Socialism, spring from the modes of thought that are peculiar to the modern system of private property. To distribute the products at stated intervals would be equivalent to the gradual resistance of the products at stated in the state of the products at stated in the state of the products at state of the products are stated in the products at the products at the products are products at the products at the products are products at the products at the products are products at the products are products at the products at the products are products at the products are products at the products are products at the products at the products are products at the products are products at the products at the products are products at the products at the products are products at the pr introduction of private property in the means of production.

The very essence of socialist produc

tion limits the possible distribution of products to only a portion of these. All those products which are requisite to the enlargement of production can not, as a matter of course, be the subject of distribution; and the same holds good with regard to all such products that are intended for common use, i. e., to the establishment, preservation or enlarge-ment of public institutions. Already in modern society the number

and size of such institutions increases steadily; it is upon this domain especially that large production crowds down small production within the cir-cie of household duties. It goes without saying that so far from being checked, the development will be greatly stimu-lated in a socialist commonwealth.

The quantity of products that can be absorbed by private consumption and, accordingly, be turned into private property, must inevitably be a much slighter portion of the total product in a socialist than it made a socialist than it made a socialist than it made a socialist than its made and its second and a socialist than in modern society, where a socialist than in modern society, where almost all products are merchandise and private property. In socialist, differently from capitalist society, it is not the bulk of the products, but only the residue that needs distribution.

But even this residue socialist society will not be able to dispose of at will; there, too, the requirements of production will determine the course to be pursued. Seeing that production is under-going steady changes, so likewise will the forms and methods of distribution subject to manifold changes in the socialist commonwealth.

It is a Utopian idea to imagine that a special system of distribution is to be manufactured, and that it will stand for all time. On this field, as little as on any other, is socialist society likely to move by leaps and bounds, or start all over anew; it is bound to go on from the point at which capitalist society ceases. The distribution of goods in a socialist commonwealth might possibly continue for some time under forms that are essentially improved developments of the existing form of wage payment. At any rate this is the point from which it is bound to start. Just as the forms of wage labor differ to-day, not only from time to time, but also in various branches of industry, and in various sections of the country, so likewise, may it happen that in a socialist commonwealth the distribution of products may be carried on under a variety of forms corresponding to the various needs of the population and the historical antecedents of the industry. The conception of the Co-operative Commonwealth as a rigid, cut-and-dried, uniform institution held by hard and fast rules is mis-taken; it is, on the contrary, that sys-tem, that not only opposes least resistance to, but aids immeasurably the course of evolution in all its manifold

Next to the thought of "division," that Next to the thought of "division, that of "equal shares" troubles the foes of Socialism most "Socialism," they de-clare, "proposes, that every one shall have an equal share of the total prodthe industrious is to have no more than the lazy; hard and disagreeable labor is to receive no higher reward than that that is light and agreeable; the hod-carrier who has nothing to do but to reach out the material is to be on a par with the architect himself; under such circumstances, every one will work such circumstances, every one will work as little as possible; no one will perform the hard and disagreeable tasks; knowl-edge having ceased to be appreciated will cease to be cultivated; and the final result will be the relapse of society into barbarism; consequently Socialism is impracticable."

The iddaes of this ressoning is too.

The idiocy of this reasoning is too glaring to need exposure. This much may be said: should socialist society ever decide to decree the equality of incomes, and should the effect of such a comes, and should the effect of such a measure actually threaten to be the dire one prophesied, then, and in that case, the natural result would be, not that socialist production, but the principle of equality of incomes, would be thrown overhand.

The foes of Socialism would be justified to conclude from the equality of in-comes that Socialism is impracticable if

comes that Socialism is impracticable if they could prove:

(1) That this equality would be, under all circumstances, irreconcilable with the progress of production. This they never have been and never will be able to prove, seeing that the activity of the individual in production does not depend solely upon his remuneration, but upon a great variety of circumstances—his sense of duty, his ambition, his dignity, his pride, etc., etc.—none of which can be the subject of positive prophecy, but only of conjecture, a conjecture, however, which un-

der improved social conditions, so far from making in favor, can only make against the opinion expressed by the adversaries of Socialism; and

(2) That the equality of incomes is so essential to a socialist society that the latter cannot be conceived without the former. To prove this the foes of Social-ism will find equally impossible. A glance over the various forms of communist production which have still survived the shock of time, from the primitive communism practised by our ab-original Indians, down to the latest communistic societies that have sprung up in various parts of the land, will rehow manifold are the forms of distribution that are applicable to a community of property in the instruments of production. All forms of modern wage payment—fixed salaries, time wages, piece wages, bonuses—all of them are reconcilable with the spirit of a socialist commonwealth; and there is not one of them that may not play quite a role in socialist society, according as the wants and the customs of its members, together with the require-

ments of production, may demand.

It does not, however, follow from this that the principle of the equality of incomes—a principle that is not necessarily identical with their uniformity—will cut no figure whatever in socialist society: whenever that principle shall as-sert itself, it will not spring up as the aim of a movement for leveling things generally, forcibly, and straightway, but as the result of a natural development and social tendency.

ment and social tendency.

In the capitalist system of production there is seen simultaneously both a tendency to increase, and one to diminish the differences between incomes; one tendency would aggravate, the other would reduce inequalities.

By dissolving the middle classes of society and swelling everyware the size

society and swelling evermore the size of individual fortunes the capitalist system broadens and deepens perceptibly the chasm that exists between the masses of the population and those who are at its head; the latter tower ever higher above the former and become less and less approachable to them. Hand in hand with this tendency is noticed another, which, operating within the circle of the masses themselves, steadily equalizes their respective incomes; it flings the small producers, farmers, and industrialists, into the class of the proletariat, or at least, pushes their in-comes down to the proletarian level, and wipes out existing differences be-tween the proletarians themselves. The machine tends steadily to the removal all the differences which originally took root among the proletariat; to-day the differences in wages among the various layers of labor fluctuate inces-santly and come nearer and nearer to a point of uniformity; at the same time the incomes of the educated proletariat are irresistibly tending downwards. The equalization of incomes among the masses—that thing at which the adversaries of Socialism affect to be shocked, and which they brand with moral indignation as the malignant purof Socialism-is going on under their own eyes, and is the result of their own precious system.

a matter of course, all those tendencies that sharpen inequalities, and that proceed from the private ownership in the means of production, would come to an end, while the tendency to wipe out inequalities of incomes would find stronger expression under the Socialist system. But here again, the observations made upon the dissolution of expensive forms and upon the downtions made upon the dissolutions is sing family forms and upon the downfall of small production hold good with equal force: the tendency of the economic development remains in socialist, to a certain extent the same as in capital and the same as in capital statement of the same as talist society, but it finds expression in a very different way. To-day, the equal-ization of incomes among the masses of the population proceeds by the depression of the higher incomes to the lever of the lower ones; in a socialist commonwealth it must inevitably proceed by the raising of the lower to the stand-

ard of the higher.

The adversaries of Socialism seek to The adversaries of Socialism seek to frighten the small producers with the claim that an equalization of incomes can mean for them nothing else than the lowering of their conditions, because, say they, the incomes of the wealthy classes are not large enough, if divided among the poor, to preserve the present average income of the middle classes; that, consequently, if there is to be equality of incomes, the middle classes will have to give up part of their classes will have to give up part of their losers under Socialism.

Whatever truth there may be in this claim, lies in that the most miserable, above all, the slums, are to-day so nuabove all, the slums, are to-usy so numerous and their indigence so great that the distribution among them of the immense incomes of the rich might not suffice to bring their condition quite up to the standard of the middle class. Whether this argument could be advanced as a special reason for the preservation of our glorious social system may well be doubted; some may be of the opinion that any improvement that might be accomplished through such a division would be a positive gain.

There is, however, no question about "division;" the only question is upon

"division;" the only question is upon the change of the method of production. The transformation of the capitalist into the socialist system of production, must inevitably result in a rapid in-crease of the quantity of wealth produced yearly. It must never be lost sight of that the capitalist system of produc-tion for sale hinders to-day the economic development, hinders the full expan-sion of the productive forces that lie latent in society. Not only is it not able to absorb the small industries in the measure in which the technical de velopment makes possible and requires; it has become even impossible to it to employ all the labor forces that are employ all the labor forces that are available. The capitalist system of production squanders these forces in that it steadily drives an increasing quantity thereof into the ranks of the unemployed, the slums, parasites, and the unproductive middle men.

Such a state of things is simply im-possible in a socialist commonwealth; it could not fail to find productive labor it could not fail to find productive labor for all its available labor forces; it would increase perceptibly, nay, it would double the number of productive workers; in the measure in which it did this it would multiply the total wealth produced yearly. This increase in pro-duction would be enough in itself to raise the incomes of all workers, and not only those of the poorest ones.

not only those of the poorest ones.

Furthermore, socialist production would greatly promote the absorption of small and its substitution by large production, and thereby also increase greatly the productivity of labor; it would then be possible not only to raise

the incomes of the workers, but also to lower the hours of work

In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauperism. That is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drives mankind. Socialism tends of the socialism ist production must inevitably improve the conditions of all working classesthose of the small producer and small working farmer included. According to the economic conditions, under which the change from capitalism to Socialism may be effected, will the improved general well-being of the community be greater or less; but whatever those conditions may be, the progress will be marked; and from that point on every further economic development will, in-stead of lowering, as it does to-day, raise the general well-being of the commonwealth.

This turn in the direction of the course generally taken by incomes is, in the eyes of Socialists, of much more importance to the well-being of society than the absolute increase of incomes. The thoughtful man lives more in the future than in the present; what the future threatens or promises to him preoccupies him more than the enjoyment of the present. Not what is but what will be, not existing conditions, but tendencies determine the happiness or the unhappiness both of individuals and of whole states. Thus we become acquainted with an-

other element of superiority in socialist over capitalist society. It affords not only an improved condition of well-being, but also the certainty of livelihood—a certainty not afforded to-day by the largest fortune. If the improvement of well-being can be appreciated, mainly, if not only, by the classes that hitherto have been exploited, the certainty of a livelihood is a boon to the exploiters themselves, to those whose well-being needs no improvement even where such might be possible. Uncertainty hovers over both the rich and the poor, and possibly it is more trying than want itelf; it causes even those to taste the bitterness of want who are not yet sub-ject to it; it is a specier that haunts the most luxurious homes.

All observers who have become acquainted with communistic societies, whether these were situated in India, France or America, have all been struck with the appearance of calmness, confidence, and equanimity peculiar to their members. Independent of the oscilla-tions of the market, and in possession of their own instruments of production, they are self-sufficient; they regulate their labor according to their needs, and they know in advance just what they have to expect. And yet the security against want enjoyed by these primitive or more recent colonies is far from being perfect; their control over nature is slight, the communities themselves are small. Mishaps brought on by cattle diseases, failures of crops, freshets, etc., are not infrequent, and when they oc-cur smite the whole body. Upon how much firmer a basis does not the Cooperative Commonwealth stand with boundaries co-extensive with those of the nation and with all the conquests science at its command!

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Accurate Information Desired.

To THE PEOPLE.—I would like someone accurately posted to inform me through the columns of THE PEOPLE when the printers' strike against Hearst's paper in San Francisco occurred, what was Hearst's action thereon, what was the windup, and all other details of general interest.

New York, Sept. 20th.

At it in Norwalk.

At it in Norwalk.

At it in Norwalk.

At it in Norwalk.

To THE PEOPLE.—Socialism received its second boost from the mighty hand of the law as represented by South Nodwalk's police. Organizer Emil Singewald, the second on the roll of honor, was arrested while acting as chairman at an out-door meeting in Railroad place. As soon as Conrade Singewald had begun his address, Chief Vollmer appeared on the scene sad in the name of the law and other things commanded the assembly to disperse. Comtade Singewald taking no notice of the interruptions continued speaking when the chief ordered his subordinate to do his duty, and our comrade was led off to the police station and placed behind the bars. Whilst two of the courades hunted up a judge to take bonds for the release of our organizer, others of the comrades led the crowd to Germania Hall, where State Organizer C. J. Mercer, of Bridgeport, Comrade A. S. Brown, of New York, and Comrade E. F. Wegener, of New Jersey, addressed the meeting. In the meantime, after about 40 minutes' delay, a judge was found and our comrade was released under 15 bonds, lie, with the remainder of the crowd, marched to the hall where he was greeted with hearty applause. A good impression was made upon the audience by all the speakers.

Now, while the authorities here are bethering us, it is not all loss; we are receiving a great deal of free advertising. As the editor of one of our local papers says, we have certainly agitated to some purpose. He adds:

"They have made a good thing out of this little triction with the authorities, and they will do very well if they leave well enough alone, and simply continue their meetings as they did Saturday, without a serious conflict. They have made a good thing out of this little triction with the authorities, and they will do very well if they leave well enough they could possibly hope for, and if nothing happens between now and election time to 'queer' their cause, they will get enough tickets in the ballot box. In October, to give them a substantial e

a snowing."
Our case is continued for a week and comes
up for a hearing Sept. 25.
JAMES C. HAYES, Sec.
South Norwalk, Ct., Sept. 29.

Will "A Machinist" of Yonkers. Furnish the desired information?

Fuvnish the desired information?

TO THE PEOPLE—In THE PEOPLE of the 10th, inst., there is under the head of correspondence a notice concerning, among others, the strike at the liand Drill Works at Tarrytown, N. Y., sinting that the strike was not satisfactorily settled and implying that the strikers had been imposed upon by the officers of their organization, the I. A. of Machinists. A comrade here has used the matter for agitation among the machinists of the Gen. Electric Co., but was met by the statement that the writer of the notice did not state the truth. We would like to be put in the way of getting at the facts and details of this matter. We can use it with good results among the machinists of the I. A. M. employed here. An early answer will be of great advantage to us, as we want to keep the thing going after it got started.

Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 17.

Kangaroos Will Remain Kangaroos. TO THE PEOPLE-A number of slobs to-gether at corner of Third Street and Ave. C, and arranged an open-air meeting last Friday

and arranged an open-air meeting last Friday, night.

It seemed to me that it was purposely arranged to discuss the beer question.

The chairman who was in great spirits remarked that the workingmen of this country must unite as workingmen do in other countries; and that workingmen produce all wealth and receive in return for their labor one-fourth of what they produce, for instance, he said, if you make is gallons of beer you are compelled to pay 10 cents with the tax for 1 pint. "I bellef," he said, "that if you make is gallons of beer you should drink alles wat you make; I am a good member of the Brewing's Union und I KNOW at I KNOW is right."

He then introduced a would-be candidate for alderman with a game leg. This kangaroo quoted statistics of the "liquor problem," saying "if 400 men go on strike for four days, there is a total loss of 4.500 pints of beer to saloon-keepers," being quite sure; he said.

there is a total loss of 4.800 pints of beer to saloon-keepers," being quite sure; he said, that every workingman drinks 3 pints of beer a day. "It workingman drinks 3 pints of beer a day. "It workingmen fight the capitalists." said he, "in the way they ought to, by uniting into a political party, they would be to-day PREE from all taxes." He finally wound up, by introducing the Hogus People to the bystanders, but none bit.

Another speaker at this moeting was an Anarchist. He said so himself. He said that although he was an Asarchist that did not prevent him from being broad-minded.

New York, Sept. 16.

New York, Sept. 16.

Corroborative.

Corroborative.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Your correspondent, who singus "Active" in last Sanday's PEOPLE, hits the nail at the head; only he forgot some of the Assembly Districts. For instance, the 15th. With a member-hip of only 7 in good standing, the Kangaroos cast—according to their Bogus People—12 votes. Where they get them from, i don't know. They might have seen some of their previous members who last year registered as Tammany Hall men.

GEO. Link,

GEO. LINK, 509 Tenth ave.

New York, Sep. 27.

The Party on Top in Pa.

The Party on Top in Pa.

To THE PEOPLE.—Schulberg will reach Pittsburg the 13th of October where he will remain a few days, then he will go to Eric where he will commence an agitation tour for two weeks in Eric and Mercer Counties, and return to Pittsburg by way of New Castle where he will hold soweral meetings and close the campaign in and around Pittsburg. Immediately after the election he will again make a tour of the State. Thus you can see that the action of the Kangaroo faction of Philadelphia in their attempt to hamper the State Committee in the work of agitation and organization, and with a view to force us to call in our organizer. Bad just the opposite effect. It has invigorated the comrades with renewed energy and a determination to push the work more vigorously than ever. It has not only resulted in bringing in sufficient funds to keep the organizer in the field, but funds are coming in sufficiently to enable the State Committee to carry their case against the bogue candidates to the Dauphin County court where we will fight them to a successful issue, and the candidates nominated by the State Convention of the St. L. P. at Altoona. May 7(th. 189. will be placed on the official ballot, as against the bogue candidates who were nominated by nobody known whom, where, nor when. This evidently is a "state secret." that the alleged state secretary did not dare to make known in his late circular published in the Bogue People, did not even give out the names of the candidates; that is, if he and his crew

had any.

As was shown by the last quarterly report the party organisation was never in better shape, and again in spite of the alleged "critical condition." We will also show by this present monthly financial report that the same excellent condition still obtains. This monthly financial report, as was the last quarterly report, will be itemized, showing the party members where the funds come from and how expended.

We failed to see such a report in the circular issued by the self-constituted committee of labor failtra and tax-payers, but the evidently is another "state secret."

Pittsburg, Pa., Sep. 24.

Pittsburg, Pa., Sep. 24.

LETTER-BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspon-(No questions will be considered that come

in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bone fide signature and address.)

C. L., NEW YORK—THE PEOPLE goes to press first thing Thursday Morning, as usual You should be able to get it on time.

W. F. S., CLEVELAND, O.—It is not a case of "straining a point." Matters of that nature, not here by Tuesday, can't go in that week.

B. H., PHILA. PA.—The suggestion is good: an article on the several phases in production and consimption, with an eye upon the "incidence of taxation," will be gotten up as soon as time allows: but we prepare you to find some of your ideas roughly treated.

as time allows: but we prepare you to find some of your ideas roughly treated.

MAX MORRIS, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—
It is not likely that to your question—is not the "Volksasitung" element controlled by bourgeois sentiment"—you simply wish an aye or nay answer. To deal with your question as we suppose you desire would take up too much space in this column.

In a few words: It is bourgeois interests that govern the "Volksasitung" element. That is notiveable by the absurdly exaggerated and exaggeratedly absurd position it took upos taxation, claiming that the average workingman's family pays now over \$100 tares a yest that is purely a bourgeois bugaboo. It also appears from their trade union is the bourgeois caricatured; and also from its nationalization à is Glasgow attitude. This beurgeois instinct is at the bottom. It is essential that one allow not that fact to be concealed through the villainous elements that have flocked to the support of these burgeois interests. The obscere interests of disrepuisable European and matter safe interests, the obscere interests of disrepuisable European and matter safe and interests of disrepuisable European and matter safe and such a distracting dust of villainous elements that have flocked to the support of these burgeois active Kangarooism, have raised such a distracting dust of villainy that the superficial chaserver might fail to see the essential point the bourgoois needs of the Kangaroos.

S. M., DENVER, COLO.—You missed the looke. The cool effrontery with which Companie

the bourgeois needs of the Kangaroos.

S. M., DENVER, COLO,—You missed the joke. The cool effrontery with which Comrade Schulberg claimed that "five minutes warning had to be allowed a speaker, according to the Constitution of the United States," was a joke practised ou the policeman. The policeman being impressed thereby, his not having a walls to do the timing, and the speaker thereupon timing himself at his ample lessure,—all that constitutes a very racy episodo in the Party's struggle for Free Speach. Of course, there is no such law.

T. N. T., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The mistake arose from your letter being written en the letter heat of the Secretary of the Section. We should have known that A. E. Norman is the secretary.

man is the secretary.

H. S. VANCOUVER, R. C.—James R. Sovereign's record is in THE PEOPLE of 1885-96 quite full. He is essentially bourgeois in his conomics; knows only phrases about the working class interests. Write to Morgan of the "Morgan's Buus Saw," Little Rock, Arkansas, and he will inform you how dishonorable a politician the man is. He is in the Labor Movement for revenue only. If he could make a living more easily selling peanuts, he would be a peanut vender. There is no reliance whatever to be placed upon his word.

G. K., MILWAUKEE, WIS.-Henry Austin the author of that masterly article in "The In-dependent" on "The Socialistic Thorn in Tam-many's Side," was the Editor of the Boston "Nationalist."

S. L., BROOKLYN, N. Y .- As there are over to subdivisions of Section Greater New York, S. L. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—As there are over on subdivisions of Section Greater New York, it has long been found hard to insert their various reports in THE PEOPLE, all the more as the reports of the Section take up considerable space. If the reports of all these subdivisions were inserted, there would be no room left for any other Section in the county in the official column. If the report of one of the subdivisions is accepted, that of all the others would have to be accepted, and that you will realize there is no room for. Only important announcements can be taken.

K. K. BUFFALO, N. Y.—The trouble with

K. K. BUFFALO, N. Y.—The trouble with at least 3 out of every 10 of our opponents is that they are disingenuous, they are not frank, they dare not be frank. They dare not say what they really are after, hence they conceal their point behind a dust of false issues. That's an experience of long, long standing.

"S. L. P. MAN," CINCINNATI. O.—A Party member, particularly a Party officer, can not hold intimate and friendly intercourse with an active Kangaroo without justly drawing upon himself the suspicion of being culpably weak.

active Kangaroo without justly drawing upon himself the suspicion of being culpably weak. HENRY SALE, CHICAGO, ILL.—The statement of Section Chicago, S. L. F., will be published in THE PEOPLE of October & Came too late for this issue.

R-R, YONKERS, N. Y.—Both their "party" and their "organs" are expiring. Why, the N. E. C. hasn't met for 4 weeks. There's nothing to meet on or for. And as to their Bogus, why you can bear its death-rattle, they admit it themselves. Even their "Volkszeitung" is rushing down: overburdened by increasing debts; its creditors clamoring around it for moneys that they can not get; its advertisers abandoning it and its advertising agents put to their wits' end to wheedle new ones and failing; its circulation dropping; its deficit increasing; in abort, the decent Germans repudiating it fast, it may expice any day, and won't last long anyhow. The PEOPLES, growing every day, is getting their opitaphs ready; these are all in the inkstand on this desk; need but to be dipped out.

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NEW YORK

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE— Henry Kuhn, Secretary, \$2 Beekman street, N. V.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS (pro tem.)
-Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover
street, Providence, R. I.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-ADA-A. B. Barter, Secretary, 860 Rich-mond street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY— 147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party arrouncements can go in that are not in thi. office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting of September 26th, with P. Murphy in the chair. Absent, Flebiger, who is ill and excused. The financial report for week ending September 23rd showed receipts \$23.00; expenditures, \$50.57.

Among the communications read, there was one from the Virginia State Committee advising publication of spe-Committee advising publication of special leaflet for rural population. Secretary was instructed to confer with the committee about this matter. Illinois State Committee sent word about refractory action on the part of Section Pekin, and also that "Arbejderen Publishing Co." of Chicago refused to recognize the State Committee. Since "Arbejderen" is the Danish Party organ, the secretary was instructed to look into this matter.

Section Adams, Mass. (German), reported that they had recognized the Kangaroo committee. Moved to suspend; carried. Report from Massachusetts has it that Kangaroos attending

setts has it that Kangaroos attending State Convention under Massachusetts election law, bolted the convention when they found themselves in a hopeless minority.

The attention of the sections is herewith called to the Marx picture advertised by the N. Y. Labor News Co., 147
East Twenty-third street, New York
City. No section should fail to send for a copy, and they are then sure to take up and push its sale, the picture being one of the best of its kind ever issued.

one of the best of its kind ever issued. The following Sections reported their vote on the San Francisco convention resolutions: Phænix, Ariz.; Rockvale, Pueblo, Leadville, Col.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Richmend, Ind.; Collinsville, Glen Carbon, Moline, Ill.; Paducah, Ky.; Groveland, Somerville, Salem, New Bedford, Everett, Mass.; Oneonta, Peekskill, Yonkers, N. Y.; Columbus, Ohio; Figart, Homestead, Braddock, No. 1, McKeesport, Suterville, Grove City, Rankin, Pa.; members at large in Massachuseits and Connecticut, casting a total vote of 30 in favor of the San Francisco proposition and 270 against. The grand total now stands:

against. The grand total now stands:
71 in favor and 451 against.
The vote cast for delegate to S. T. &
L. A. convention was 742 in favor of D. De Leon and 1 against.

JOHN J. KINNEALLY, Recording Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

ROCKVILLE,—The below is our ticket for the Town election:— Selectmen,—Melvin C. Bronson, Charles C.

Selectmen, —Merrin C. Bush.

Zaus.

Town Clerk,—Louis Koelsch.

Tax Collector,—William Suessbrich.

Agent and Treasurer of Town Deposit Fund,
—Herman Miller.

Auditor,—Herman Backofen.

Assessors,—Gustav Reichenbach, Henry

Batz. Loard of Relief,-Hugo Mueller, Martin Falter.

Board of Relief, Flugs Sackofen.
Falter.
Registrar of Voters,—Charles Backofen.
Constables.—Emil Suessmann. Emil Kohlhasse. William Kittel, Ludwig Kogel.
School Visitor,—Max Zachernig.
Grand Jurors.—Hugo A. Mueller, Charles
Backofen, Gustave Raisch.
The election is on October 2. In 1898 we
polled 270 votes, or 18 per cent. of the total.
Not unlikely we shall this year beat the Democrats.

C. B.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Attention! Socialists and wage-workers are invited to attend a public meet-ing at Fitzgerald's Hall. Halisted ave. and Adams street, Sunday, October 1, 2:30 p. m. Subject, "Necessity of Organization and What It Implies."

PAUL KRETLOW, Org. Sect. Chicago.

SECTION CHICAGO—at 'ts regular meeting, Sep. 22, adopted the following resolution:
WHEREAS, Section Chicago has recepted no answer to the communication addressed Aug. 19th to the Worker's Call Publishing Association, therefore be it.
RESOLVED, that the "Worker's Call' is in no way connected with Section Chicago, 8.
L. P. CHAS. A. BANSTIAN, Sec.

HUDSON COUNTY-Socialist Club will open its new headquarters at 548-550 Newark ave. Jersey City, on Saturday evening, September 22d. All Party members are requested to be present. E. F. WEGENER, Organizer. SECTION HUDSON COUNTY.—The same will hold the following open-air meetings: Monday. Oct. 2,—Fulton and Jackson aves... will hold the rollowing open and Jackson aves., Monday, Oct. 2.—Montgomery and Hender-son sts., Jersey City. Tussday, Oct. 3.—Pacific and Johnson aves.,

Son Ric.,
Tuesday, Oct. 2.—Pacine and
Jersey City.
Wednesday, Oct. 4.—Hoboken.
Wednesday, Oct. 4.—Oakland and Jefferson
aves. Jersey City.
Thursday, Oct. 5.—Weshawken.
Friday, Oct. 5.—Weshawken.
Friday, Oct. 5.—West Side and Fairmount
ave., Jersey City.
Saturday, Oct. 7.—Harrison.
E. F. WEGENER, Organizer.

E. F. WEGENER, Organizer.

PASSAIC COUNTY SECTION.—Held a convention at 23 Straight street on the 25th of September, and nominated Christopher Maguire, Jacob H. Schmitters, Uirich Freun, and Kmil Rauer for members of assembly for the November election.

The people are all complaining of hard times her. Silk is very dull, wages are being reduced, and the beauties of the present system are made manifest all about us. Two of our silk mills are in the hands of receivers; at a number of mills, when warps are out, the weavers are told to take their tools home with them, as they may need them, before their looms will be ready again, which means—they are discharged.

The workingmen will soon vote for the S. L. P. ticket in Paterson.

We are to have our first campaign meeting Wedneeday evening, September 28, at Waledon.

Last Friday evening the Central Commutate.

Wednesday evening, September 25, at Waisdon.

Last Friday evening the Central Committee passed a motion to send THE PEOPLE 250 copies) to non-socialists every three months, until the presidential campaign is over, which will make 1250 families to have 2 months socialistic reading matter, outside of pampless and other literature. The Party having the paper fully in its hands, we believe it will not mislead anymore.

The Kangaroos advertised a meeting for vestigating afternoon, but as there were only a persons present, the speaker, a man from Brocklyn, thought it was a failure, and did not show himself.

Passaic County expects to send the first representative to the legislature. We are working for it this fall.

RICHARD BERDAU, Organizer,

NEW YORK CITY.—Postponed meeting of General Committee Section New York, will be held Saturday, September 20, at 125 E. Ith street, Manhartan.

NEW YORK CITY.—A primary of the Socialist Labor aPrity for the Tenth Assembly District will be held at Jackson's Hall, SIS Fulton Street, Brooklyn, on Monday, October 26, 1839, at 8 p. m.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS.-For week ending

Monday, Oct. 2.
Listh Assembly Listrict—16th street and Av-eque D.
20th Assembly District—26th street and 2d ave.
4th Assembly District-Monroe and Jack-son streets. Tuesday, Oct. 2. 20th Assembly District—84th street and 1st

ave.

28th Assembly District—78th street and 1st ave.
28th Assembly District—82d street and 1st ave.

Withouter Out 6 Wednesday, Oct. 4.
16th Assembly District—7th street and Av-

nue B. 14th Assembly District-11th street and Avenue B.
10th Assembly District—5th street and 2d ave.

Thursday, Oct. 5.

17th Assembly District—52d street and 5th 19th Assembly District-67th street and Amsterdam ave.
18th Assembly District—38th street and 9th ave.

re.
Friday, Oct. 6.
Brooklyn, Broadway and Manhattan ave.
Brooklyn—Myrtle ave. and Bedford street.

TO EROOKLYN COMRADES.—The lecture season of the American Branch No. 1. S. L. P., Brooklyn, reopens on Sunday, Oct. 1. 1899, 8 p. m., at Wingler's Hall, 215 Washington street, with an address by A. S. Brown on "The Class Struggle."

QUEENS COUNTY-NOTICE - Primaries of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County are hereby called to meet on Monday, October 2d, 1899, at 7 o'clock P. M., for the election to the County Convention, to the second As. sembly District Convention, and to the second Adermanic District Convention at the follow; ing places: 3d Ward at Turn Hall, College Point: 4th Ward at Tagland's Haali. Woohaven Each Ward is entitled to representation by delegates in each said Conventions.

The County Convention, the 2d Assembly District Convention and the 2d Aldermanic District Convention meet at Tagland's Hall Woodhaven, on October 2d, 1899, at 9 o'clock

CHRISTIAN BAKKE. Secretary Quees County Committee S. L. P.

A Primary of the Socialist Labor Parts for Long Island City, will be held at Hinr's Hill, 317 Moor Str., Sunnyaue, Long Island 117, Saturday, September 50th, 1599, at 8 P. M., for the purpose of electing delegates to County Convenion.

SING SING.—The convention of the S. L. P. for the purpose of nominating an assemblyman in the 2d Assembly District, County Westchester, was held in Sing Sing, September 21. Comrade Stephen Cormack was elected chairman of the convention. Delegates from the towns of Mt. Pleasant, Cortland, and Oaslning were present. Comrade C. C. Crolly, of Pleasantville, and the Jonathan C. Pierce, of Pleasantville, and the nomination was made unanimous. Short addresses were made by Comrades Crolly and Davids, of Pleasantville; Riely Clark and O'Neil, of Sing Sing, and District Organizer Quolot, of Peekskill

HUBERT H. MEALING, JR.,

Secretary of Convention.

BUFFALO.—On September 16 the S. L. P. held its convention for the Judiciary, the 8th Judicial District (Erie, Chautauqua, Cattarangus, Orleans, Niagara, Genasec, Allegany, and Wyoming counties). The delegates from the several districts unanimously nominated the following Comrades:

For Judges of the Supreme Court.—Max Forker, James A. McKenzie, James W. Sharpe.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS, CLEVELAND, 0.— Week beginning Oct. 2d. Week Side, Monday eve., Oct. 2.—Pearl street and Wade

Tuesday evening, October 3,—Clark avenue and Swiss street.

East Side.

Wednesday evening, Oct. 4,—Becker ave., Wednesday evening, Oct. 5.—Central ave. and Greenwood street.
Friday evening. Oct. 6.—Quincy street, cor. of Linco'n ave.
Saturday evening. Oct. 7.—Public Square.
Section Cleveland per Central Committee:—FRANK BRIBAN, Organizer.
W. F. STEER, Secretary.

PENSSYLVANIA.

PENASYLVANIA.

PITTSBURG.—Comrade S. Schulberg is just closing a successful agitation tour in the authracid clair region, where he has been as success in every respect; will begin a short trip in the central coal field starting at Kane. Tuesday 26. As Comrade Schulberg is a good and clear speaker. Sections should, wherever tousible, arrange for out-door meetings. The tour is as follows:

Kane. Tuesday. September 28.

Du Bois, Wednesday, September 27.

Du Bois, Thursday, September 28.

Rockwayville. Friday. September 29.

Lance. Saturday. September 29.

Lance. Saturday. September 20.

Hawk Run, Monday. October 2.

Orcola, Wednesday, October 4.

Houttdale. Thursday. October 5.

Figard. Friday. October 4.

Pation. Saturday, October 7.

Altoona. Sounday, October 7.

Altoona. Sunday, October 8.

South Fork, Tuesday, October 10.

Latrobe. Wednesday, October 11.

Jeannette, Thursday, October 12.

Pittsburg, Friday, October 13.

I. ROMMEL, Secretary,

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE.—Regular Socialist class meetings of Branch 4, S. L. P., will be held in Knight of Pythias Hall, 350 Elmwood avenue are returned by the second of the second of

WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON.

SEATTLE.—At a regular meeting of Section Seattle, S. L. P., held September 12, 1899, the following was unanimously adopted, and, upon motion, it was ordered that a copy be sent to each Section in Washington, showing them how Section Seattle stands. It might be added that these reasons are only supplemental to the reasons given by the N. E. C. (See THE PEOPLE of September 10, page 4.) COMRADES:—There being now before the Party for a referendum vote a proposition, emansting from Section San Francisco, for a national convention of the Party, to be held not later than November 1, 1899, Section Seattle herewith submits its reasons for opposition; The resolution states that "it is impasterial which faction in New York is right or wrong." We believe, on the contrary, that it is material, The present situation, in the Party is the result of a conspiracy by the element, represented in New York by the bogus N. E. C. and the "Volksseitung." in Cleveland by the suspended Board of Appeals and the "Citizen," to change the tactics of the Party. The "Volksseitung." and the element it represents, had long shown a tendency to repudiate the attitude adopted by our last national convention toward economic organizations, by an almost unanimous vote, after a discussion lasting two days. In further treason to the Party, it adopted an attitude of bourgeois reform on the question of taxation.

When the N. E. C. had submitted to a referendum vote of the Party the question whether it should demand from the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association the property of the Party our national organization; that large in tactics, the N. E. C. or the People of the Party as a specific vote, but when enough votes had been cast to plainly indicate an overwhelming majority sustaining the N. E. C.

The situation in the Party is at bottom one of tactics. The siement represented in New York is the work made

ing the N. E. C.

The situation in the Party is at bottom one of tactics. The seement represented in New York by the "Volkszeitung" could have made an attempt to legally change the tactics of the Party at the next regular convention: it could have even advocated a special convention to bring that about. But that did not suit impurpose: it realized, from the way the vote was going on the proposition pending when it made its abortive coup, that it could not hope to change the tactics of the Party legally, and being a rule or ruin element, it decided to capture the Party, constitution or no constitution.

A similar situation to the one which exists in New York is liable to happen at any time in San Francisco. where the "Tageblatt," a paper published by German members of our Party, is so loose in its tactics as to be practically neutral between the S. L. P. and the Debs Party.

Should the resolution calling for the convention have the necessary majority it would be tantamount to declaring the Party at the mercy of any conspiracy that might be diganized against it at any time, whether it be of labor-takir origin, or of capitalist origin, or for both. There is no necessity for a convention. The matter has been dealt with by the N. E. C., as it only could be dealt with it of deal with it otherwise would have been expelled from the Party; go into convention with them we cannot, any more than we could go into convention with the her action, any more than we could go into convention with the element that has been expelled herectore and that is now in Debs pocket edition of a party. The loyal element in the Party seeds, no convention—there is nothing to consider at this time; only the conspirators and the sympathizers need one. The argument of the main supporters of the convention, that the legality or Hiegality of the alleged suspension of officers is in facult, is plainly a subterfuse, as a reference to our constitution will show; the conspirators themselves admit the illegality.

One of the Section indersing the San Francisco resolution—Section Ganta Clara County, Cal.—has upon mature deliberation, reconsidered its endorsence.

The Section itself from which the proposition emanated—Section San Francisco—is unto now in good standing with the Party, having, alone adopting the resolution calling for a convention, through its City Central Committee, on August 21, by a vote of 13 to 11, decided to support the Kansarre N. E. C. COMRADES, VOTE 1T DOWN!

Section Seattle, S. L. P.—

JACOB OCOVICH, Chairman, JWM. H. WALKER, Secretary,

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE-An important meeting of Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., will take place Sunday afternoon, October lat, at 3 o'clock, at Kaiser's Hall on Fourth street, between State and Prairie streets. Every Comrade should attend as the vote on the proposed convention is to be taken.

RICHARD KOEPPEL, Organizer,

DO ATIONS TO THE PEOPLE.

Previously acknowledged	299.21
List No. 249, Section Hudson Co., N. J.	-
Thomas Jacob	.25
John Hossock	.50
Schmid	.10
G. Widmayer	.15
E. F. Wegener	.25
W. D	.25
Arthur Mende	25
G. P. Herrschaft, Jr	.25
Schroeder	.10
H. A. Schroeps	.95
Max Fackert	.50
Rob. Duncan, Hartford, Conn	1.00
Sam. Snyder. Paterson, N. J	2.00
S. Thompson, City	2.00
K. N. S. Waterbury, New Haven	.35
Grant Field, Peekskill, N. Y	.25
Albert Swanson, Yonkers, N. Y	.50
Albert Swanson, Longers, N. 1	
Frank A. Pearson, Yonkers, N. Y	.50
Elrito Cigar Factory, City	1.00
C. C. A., City	4.10
Total	313.76

S. T. & L. A. Convention.

The greater part of the work of the convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was devoted to a thorough overhauling of the constitution. A number of important changes was the result of the deliberations had by the committees on law and on state of the organization and by the convention itself. Of the amendments adopted the following are of importance:

NATIONAL TRADE ALLIANCE.

The institution of National Trade Alliance.

NATIONAL TRADE ALLIANCE.

The institution of National Trade Alliances was created. An N. T. A. may be formed by 5 or more Local Alliances of the same trade attached to at least two District Alliances. No L. A. shall be admitted to a National Trade Alliance, unless it is amiliated with the District Alliance of its district, if such exists. All details of management are to the Local Trade Alliances interested, who may make by-laws subject to the approval of the General Executive Board.

The National Trade Alliance shall be entitled to representation in the national convention by one delegate.

FINANCES.

The regular per capita tax was increased from one to two cents per month. For the collection of dues stamps shall be issued by the G. E. B. in denominations of 2 cents and ½ cent for weekly payment) and uniform membership books, issued by the G. E. B., shall be used.

The annual mileage tax was increased from 4 to 5 cents per member. This tax shall be paid during the month of June. The mileage tax receipts shell be apportioned on a basis of an equal ratio every delegate.

OFFICERS.

OFFICERS.

OFFICERS.

The membership of the General Executive Board was reudeed from 9 to 7. The G. E. Sahail decide on all appeals, subject to a final appeal to the next convention.

The officers of the D. A. shall be, a District Organizer a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sergeant at Arms, an Auditing, a Grievance, and norganization Committee. Other off-ors may be elected in the discretion of the D. A. Local Alliances shall elect an Organizer, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sergeant at Arms, an Auditing, a Grievance and an Agitation Committee, and may elect other officers.

OFFICIAL ORGAN. Each District Alliance and each L. A. is required to subscribe for one copy of the official organ of the S. T. & L. A. At each L. A. meeting the chairman shall urge members to subscribe. Where the initiation fee is sufficient, the L. A. shall furnish the official organ to each new member for six months.

GENERAL VOTES.

GENERAL VOTES.

A general vote may be ordered by the G.

E. B. on its own motion or upon motion of 3
District Alliances or of 15 L. A. s belonging
to 3 different trades and D. A. s.

The new constitution shall go into effect,
unless a general vote be demanded in accordance with above provision before November let.

The revision of the constitution occupied
most of the second, third, fourth, and last
days of the convention.

On Thursday, the fourth day, the consideration of the constitution was interrupted to
hear the report of the Finance Committee,
which confirmed the accounts of the Treasurer
showing receipts for the year from August
11. 1888, to August 1, 1899, amounting to
11.216.48 including \$1.17, on band August 11,
1888), and expenditures amounting to \$1130.91.

The receipts per month, as shown by the
Treasurer's books, were as follows:

Treasurer's books, were as follows:	
August, 1898	\$32.50
September, 1898	67.38
October, 1898	
November, 1898	
December, 1898	
January, 1899	
February, 1899	
March, 1899	
April, 1899	
May, 1899	
June, 1899	175,78
July, 1899	191.05
ELECTION OF OFFICERS.	

At the Priday session the convention pro-eded to the election of officers for the ensu-

ceeded to the election of omeoning term.

New York having again been chosen as the seat of the headquarters of the S. T. & L. A., the following comrades were elected:

General Secretary.—William L. Brower.
General Treasurer.—Patrick Murphy.

Members.—Daniel De Leon. Arthur Keep.

Ella Reeves Cohen. Hugo Vogt.

NEXT CONVENTION.

Pittsburg was the only city nominated as the place for the next convention, and was unanimously chosen.

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of

With the founders of the American republic, we hold that the purpose of with the founders of the American republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the allenation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutor ccy.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutor cy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy

may rule.

may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence. The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization. of civilization.

Resolutions.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of

production. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but

trol of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitious and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clotuing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and parties).

12. Employment of the unemployed city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propuse laws, and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Munitipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be intro-

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constitu-Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. ministration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

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READ THE PEOPLE.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works gas works, telephone and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, cresived by the efforts of the laboring clamping that through all the centuries of the particular operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils. social and economic evils.

A Any ten persons may organise themselves into a Section provided the accept the platform and constitution at the S. L. P. and sever their connection absolutely, with all other political par-2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.-Organizer. -- Recording and Corresponding Sec-

retary.
3.—Financial Secretary.

4.—Treasurer. 5.—Literary Agent.

6.—Chairman, each meeting.
ORDER OF BUSINESS.
1.—Reading of minutes. New members.

3.—Correspondence. 4.—Financial Report.

Report of Organizer.
 Report of Committees.
 Unfinished Business.

-New Business. A. There shall be no initiation in charged. Amount of monthly due is fixed by each Section. A monthly remittance of ten cents per member shall be a section. be made to the National Executive

Committee A full report of the first meeting

5.—A full report of the first meeting including a list of members, with is closure of ten cents per capita is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committed at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the Section.

7. Each Section shall hold a regretary control of the section of the section of the section.

amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each Section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political seconomic questions. 8. Quarterly reports of the numeri-cal strength and financial standing of

members, party progress and pros-pects, shall be promptly sent to the Ka-tional Executive Committee. 9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application is the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled

as member at large.
For pamphlets, leaflets, and other information, address National Secretary, HENRY KUHN,

61 Beekman street, New York City.

Trades' & Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unition and other Societies (not exceeding five lines will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of messings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Duane street, Room 26, New York City, General Secretary, William L. Brower, Financial Secretary, Murphy, General Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3rd and 5th Thursday evenings at 5 p. m. Secretary Hoard of Appeals Max Keller, 1916 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE meets even second and fourth Monday, at 8 P. M., & 98 Avenue C, New York. E. SIFF, 582 Canal street, Financial Secretars.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. Be-County Committee representing the section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the lad of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Spring-field avenue, Newark, N. J.

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, headquarter of 224 and 33d A. D.'s, S. L. P., 118 110th street, New York. Business meeths every Tuesday. Froe reading room operiom 7.30 p. m. to 10.30 p. m. every overing. Subscriptions for this paper receive here.

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NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 24, 1
1. & L. A., meets every second and four
Sunday, at 10 A. M., at 518 E. 11th street.

Secretary K. Wallberg.

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WAITERS ALLIANCE "LIBERTY," No. B.
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